Low as wages are, Rendón collected an account which indicates that wages were only 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

In addition to paid labor or labor for one's own account, men are required to perform certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later. [602]

No data were secured on the relation between labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

601 sisters of grandparents, but the other grandparent terms appear to be confined to the actual grandparents. Of some interest in the descending generation is the fact that ego's own grandchildren are called by the same terms as ego's children in Spanish discourse, while the children of nephews and nieces are called by the Spanish grandchild terms. In Tarascan discourse, however, ego's grandchildren and the grandchildren of ego's brothers and sisters are all called by the same term regardless of sex.

In the affinal terms, survival of a Tarascan term for sister-in-law (woman speaking) may be noted. Puzzling (and possibly incorrect) is the reappearance of the term for brother (man speaking) in the term for daughter-in-law. The parents of a child's spouse are referred to as *compadre* and *comadre;* in this connection it should be observed that they actually become *compadres* and *comadres* as a part of the wedding ceremony, along with most of the other close relatives of the spouse. The terms *páli* and *máli* applied to brothers and sisters of a child's spouse are simply terms of respect or appreciation which may be applied to one's own children or to a completely unrelated person.

Two terms not appearing in the charts should be mentioned. Tarámba refers to the daughter-in-law of a third person, that is, of neither the person speaking nor the person addressed. Similarly tarámpiri refers to father-in-law of a third person. In Spanish discourse, first cousins (children of parents' brothers and sisters) are sometimes referred to as primo(a) hermano(a).

601 In addressing or speaking of any person be-
602 yond the range of the charts, usually the terms tio(a) and primo(a) would be used, depending upon age. All persons with whom kinship obligations are recognized would be so called, even though neither person could remember the degree of relationship or trace the connection. In general, an individual regards the cousins of his uncles and aunts as pretty remote relatives, although he will call them tio(a) and their children primo(a) and usually will be able to trace the relationship. It would be unlikely for the children of such distantly related cousins to maintain the kinship address, even though of the same family name. How-

[text continues on page 101 b]

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[p.101b]

601 ever, should the parents happen to have been close friends, they might continue to call each
602 other primo(a) and continue to observe the appropriate behavior.

The major kinship obligation is to attend at certain functions and to assist with labor under certain circumstances. All close relatives must be greeted by relationship terms when encountered on the street or in the house, but this greeting may not be given to persons who still have reciprocal obligations such as distant cousins.

593 *Parent-child behavior.*—Parents are expected to look after the material needs of children, provide the necessary education, seek the proper godparents for them, and aid them to have a proper wedding. Children are expected to be respectful and to aid parents in their old age. If they do not conform to expectations, they may be disinherited.

Behavior of siblings.—The ideal pattern of Cherán evidently expects siblings to be close friends and to help one another. To a certain degree this behavior exists. Only for brother or sister would a man give monetary aid or give free labor at any other time than a house moving. Nevertheless, numerous cases were

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she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

General behaviors.—All more distant relatives are expected to take part in any "labor." This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

Another occasion in which kinship obligations are apparent is when a family returns to the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

342 always assisted by various relatives, who also
574 put pressure on him to hold the event. For the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband
● [602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes
[335] are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the
[602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of *curípo*, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob-
[533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all [437] assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives [273] bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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585 [183] weeks or even months. In at least one case the religious marriage took place before the civil marriage, although on the same day. However, the priest normally refuses to perform the service unless the certificate of civil marriage is presented. The relatives accompanying the couple are parents, uncles and male first cousins of the groom, the parents and close relatives of the bride, and the godmothers of the groom and the godmother for the wedding. The latter stands by the couple when the legal formula is read by the secretary or the mayor. All the relatives sign the papers as witnesses. Sometimes the secretary or mayor makes a little speech, pointing out to the husband that now he has to support his bride and can not expect her father to go on supporting her. He also may deliver a homily on behavior, pointing out that a married man shouldn't have two women or a married woman two men, warning them to avoid divorce, etc.]

After following the course indicated by the authorities, the proper steps are taken for the religious marriage. On the vespers of the day of the marriage they celebrate the t'irénkua or the dance. For this the parents of the bride hire a band with the object of going to the house of the groom with the music to take him the clothing called Aríperata, or gifts, which consist of a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of trousers (*calzones*), three shirts, and a hat. The cost of this is divided by the godparents and relatives of the bride in this way: one pair of trousers, a shirt, and a sash from each of the two godfathers of the bride and the rest from her father. The groom is dressed in this clothing by the grandfathers, grandmothers, siblings, and first cousins of the bride. [One of the latter actually dresses the groom. The groom is called tembuča [602] and his siblings and cousins of both sexes are called tembučas. Similarly, the bride is called tembunga and her siblings and cousins are called tembungas. The female tembučas give the female tembungas narrow colored ribbons or bands to wear in their hair.] Immediately the dressing is completed, the musicians play some regional tune and the groom has to dance, with which ends the affair of the gifts of the groom. [Atole is sometimes brought to this function also. The custom seems to be decaying.]

On the day of the wedding the parents and godparents of the groom, together with the grandfathers, uncles and cousins, are those charged with going to the house of the bride very early in the morning when the bells ring the first call to Mass to take her clothing also, that is to say, the Aríperata. [The bride has returned to her own house a few days before the wedding. During this time the groom may visit her freely.] This consists of three rebozos, a shirt and blouse, earrings, *corales* (red glass beads), sash, and a pair of shoes. The cost of these is divided as follows: one rebozo from each godfather, these being the blue rebozos of Paracho, and the father of the groom a very fine white rebozo [it is not actually white but one of the remarkably fine mixed color rebozos from Tangancicuaro, costing anywhere from 20 to 80 pesos] and all the other

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garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
forced but went willingly. There is no reason
584 to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am
not concerned in the matter but come to speak
for the parents of the groom. They have come
as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the
evening the father returned and agreed to the
marriage, but he said little and clearly was
angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
162 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means
602 that the two families, in the most extended
sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of
ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male
relatives will help to move a house or roof a
house, while the bride's female relatives will be
called on to work in the kitchen on the same
occasions. Both families will likewise be con-
cerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in
varying degree, especially when a grandchild
marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion
585 for celebration, the release of tensions through
drinking, the provision of diversion with the
dancing, and the general stimulus through ex-
tensive social interaction is very considerable.
For the participants, weddings probably rank
as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for
social contacts and amusement.

585 A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
weddings is the much greater participation of
987 the older women. Young women with children
usually do not take a very active part in the
kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the
exchange of clothing. The old women, on the
other hand, are in the forefront of all activities.
Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in
many respects. Old women are the most active
in the kitchen. They are the first to start
drinking, although they rarely drink to the
excess common among the men, and they are
the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the
playing of dance music has an almost compul-
sive effect. Time and again, when dance music
is being played, even though it is not time for
dancing, some of the old women will be seen
quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

585 Although the ceremonies of marriage are
most elaborate in the case of first marriages,
587 often marriages of widows or widowers are

343 The measure of the back wall is also the length
335 of the front, center, and back foundation beams and the "*planchitas*." The side-wall measure is the length of the short foundation beams; the floor planks are a little shorter. The top wall planks, cornices, the beam over the veranda pillars, the planks for the loft floor, and the "*planchas*" holding the ends of the rafters are all one *vara* longer than the corresponding measurements at the lower floor. "*Trojes*" of 6 or 7 *varas* are the most common.

483 A "*troje*," or house, may be moved completely to a new location in from 1 to 1½ days. Each piece is marked as the structure is dismantled and then reassembled in the same order. As many of
[211] the men cannot read, the side boards are marked with a symbol for each side and then numbered by a series of tally lines. A master carpenter is hired primarily to supervise the work and to make sure that the foundation frame is level.
● [602] Relatives of the owner do the rest of the work and are fed, but receive no pay.

343 A "*troje*," or house, may last 50 to 100 years or more, if not destroyed by fire. Cases where "*trojes*" have lasted longer than 80 years are exceptional. However, the roof shakes must be replaced at intervals. Pine shakes last only about 6 years, fir shakes about 10 years.

342 Tarascan kitchens are of two types. The
335 simpler structure is called "*torita*," or kosína tórueri in Cherán (kosína kukuarékata, in Angahuan). It has no loft or veranda. The floor plan is rectangular, with the door on one of the short sides. The roof has two sheds (fig. 9; pls. 5, upper, left; 6, upper, left). Subtypes may be distinguished according to the method of supporting the corner posts. In "*cocinas de pie derecho*," the corner posts rest on wooden foundation beams, while in "*cocinas de horcón*," the corner posts are set in the ground. Further differentiation may be made according to the presence or absence of a ridge pole.

The "*cocina de pie derecho*" starts with four foundation beams of heartwood, morticed at the corners and resting on four small stones. Four corner posts (aɣájtarakua) of heartwood of pine are morticed into the foundation beams. The posts have grooves on two sides to receive the

[p. 14 b]